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tain and her colonies, that they began to be sensible of their desperate situation—this whole northern continent being now in the possession of one great and powerful nation, against whom it was vain to attempt resistance. Yet it was at this moment that their prophets, impelled by ambitious motives, began to endeavour by their eloquence to bring them back to independent feelings, and create among them a genuine national spirit; but it was too late. The only rational resource that remained for them to prevent their total annihilation was to adopt the religion and manners of their conquerors, and abandon savage life for the comforts of civilised society; but of this but a few of them were sensible; in vain Missionaries were sent among them, who, through the greatest hardships and dangers exerted themselves to soften their misfortunes by the consolations of the Christian faith, and to point out to them the way of salvation in this world and the next; the banner of Christ was comparatively followed but by small numbers, and these were persecuted by their friends, or, at least, those who ought to have been such, as well as by their enemies. Among the obstacles which the Missionaries encountered, the strong opposition which was made to them by the prophets of the Indian nations was by no means the least.

I have known several of these preachers and prophets during my residence in the Indian country, and have had sufficient opportunities to observe the means which they took to operate on the minds of their hearers. I shall content myself with taking notice here of a few of the most remarkable among them.

In the year 1762, there was a famous preacher of the Delaware nation, who resided at *Cayahaga*, near Lake Erie, and travelled about the country, among the Indians, endeavouring to persuade them that he had been appointed by the great Spirit to instruct them in those things that were agreeable to him, and point out to them the offences by which they had drawn his displeasure on

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themselves, and the means by which they might recover his favour for the future. He had drawn, as he pretended, by the direction of the great Spirit, a kind of map on a piece of deer skin, somewhat dressed like parchment, which he called "the great Book or Writing." This, he said, he had been ordered to shew to the Indians, that they might see the situation in which the Mannitto had originally placed them, the misery which they had brought upon themselves by neglecting their duty, and the only way that was now left them to regain what they had lost. This map he held before him while preaching, frequently pointing to particular marks and spots upon it, and giving explanations as he went along.

The size of this map was about fifteen inches square, or, perhaps, something more. An inside square was formed by lines drawn within it, of about eight inches each way, two of those lines, however, were not closed by about half an inch at the corners. Across these inside lines, others of about an inch in length were drawn with sundry other lines and marks, all which was intended to represent a strong inaccessible barrier, to prevent those without from entering the space within, otherwise than at the place appointed for that purpose. When the map was held as he directed, the corners which were not closed lay at the left hand side, directly opposite to each other, the one being at the south-east by south, and the nearest at the north-east by north. In explaining or describing the particular points on this map, with his fingers always pointing to the place he was describing, he called the space within the inside lines "the heavenly regions," or the place destined by the great Spirit for the habitation of the Indians in future life; the space left open at the south east corner, he called the "avenue," which had been intended for the Indians to enter into this heaven, but which was now in the possession of the white people; wherefore the great Spirit had since caused another "avenue" to be made on the opposite side, at

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which, however, it was both difficult and dangerous for them to enter, there being many impediments in their way, besides a large ditch leading to a gulf below, over which they had to leap; but the evil spirit kept at this very spot a continual watch for Indians, and whoever he laid hold of, never could get away from him again, but was carried to his regions, where there was nothing but extreme poverty; where the ground was parched up by the heat for want of rain, no fruit came to perfection, the game was almost starved for want of pasture, and where the evil spirit, at his pleasure, transformed men into horses and dogs, to be ridden by him and follow him in his hunts and wherever he went.

The space on the outside of this interior square, was intended to represent the country given to the Indians to hunt, fish and dwell in while in this world; the east side of it was called the ocean or "great salt water Lake." Then the preacher, drawing the attention of his hearers particularly to the south east avenue, would say to them. "Look here! See what we have lost by neglect and dis-"obedience; by being remiss in the expression of our "gratitude to the great Spirit, for what he has bestowed "upon us; by neglecting to make to him sufficient sacri-"fices; by looking upon a people of a different colour "from our own, who had come across a great lake, as if "they were a part of ourselves; by suffering them to sit "down by our side, and looking at them with indiffer-"ence, while they were not only taking our country from "us, but this, (pointing to the spot) this, our own "avenue, leading into those beautiful regions which were "destined for us. Such is the sad condition to which "we are reduced. What is now to be done, and what "remedy is to be applied? I will tell you, my friends. "Hear what the great Spirit has ordered me to tell you! "You are to make sacrifices, in the manner that I shall "direct; to put off entirely from yourselves the customs "which you have adopted since the white people came

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"among us; you are to return to that former happy "state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before "these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you "must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which "they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing "their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will "the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will "give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them "from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly "regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

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the great and good Spirit, in order to teach his countrymen, who were on the way to perdition, how they could become reconciled to their God. He would make his followers believe that he had once been taken so near to heaven, that he could distinctly hear the crowing of the cocks, and that at another time he had been borne by unseen hands to where he had been permitted to take a peep into the heavens, of which there were three, one for the Indians, one for the negroes and another for the white people. That of the Indians he observed to be the happiest of the three, and that of the whites the unhappiest; for they were under chastisement for their ill treatment of the Indians and for possessing themselves of the land which God had given to them. They were also punished for making beasts of the negroes, by selling them as the Indians do their horses and dogs, and beating them unmercifully, although God had created them as well as the rest of mankind.

The novelty of these visions procured him hearers for a time; he found, however, at last, that the Indians became indifferent to his doctrines, particularly as he frequently warned them not to drink the *poison* brought to them by the white people, of which his congregations were very fond. Then he bethought himself of a more popular and interesting subject, and began to preach against witchcraft and those who dealt in the black art. Here he had all the passions and prejudices of the poor Indians on his side, and he did not fail to meet with the general approbation, when he declared to them that wizzards were getting the upper hand, and would destroy the nation, if they were not checked in their career. He travelled in 1775, to *Goschachking*, at the forks of Muskingum, to lay this business before the great council of the Delawares, and take their opinion upon it. The first report which the Missionaries on the Muskingum heard on this subject, was that the chiefs had at first united in having every conjurer and witch in

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the nation brought to an account and punished with death, that, however, on a more mature consideration, they had thought proper in the first place to ascertain the number and names not only of those who were known, but even of those who were suspected of dealing in sorcery, and Wangomend was appointed to cause the enumeration to be made. He accordingly hastily set off for his home, and on his arrival immediately entered on the duties of his mission; when behold! it was discovered that the number of offenders was much greater than had been at first imagined, and he found himself in danger of having his own name inserted in the black list. His zeal, in consequence, became considerably cooled, and by the time when he returned the chiefs were no longer disposed to meddle with this dangerous subject, justly fearing that it could not but terminate in the ruin of their nation. Wangomend, therefore, returned to his former mode of preaching, recommending to his hearers to purge themselves from sin by taking certain prescribed medicines, and making frequent sacrifices to the great Spirit.

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The last whom I shall take notice of is the Prophet-warrior *Tecumseh*, lately so celebrated among us, and who lost his life in the last war at the battle of the Thames, on the 30th of September, 1813, at the age, it is said, of 43 years. The details of his military life have been made sufficiently known through the medium of journals and newspapers, and his famous speech to the British general Proctor delivered at Amherstburg a short time before the battle which decided his fate, is in every body's hands.* But his character as a prophet and the means that he took to raise himself to power and fame are not so well nor so particularly understood, although it is, in general, admitted that he was admirably skilled in the art of governing Indians through the medium of

* See Niles's Weekly Register, vol. i. p. 141. vol. v p. 174. and vol. vi. p. 111.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.

775 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or crossing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping [822] 753 to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing [751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. Witches and wizards

754 JOHN JOHNSTON—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear [753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in witches and wizards and 756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when [792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These [683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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it is still of equal importance to note that ki'tel-mani'tu is employed among the Delaware only by the Christian converts. I have previously mentioned the habit of the unconverted group of the tribe to avoid using religious terms adopted by their Christian kinsmen.

Radin[1] has expressed an opinion quite generally entertained among American ethnologists, that amid the varied types of disposition exhibited among savage as well as civilized people, it is those individuals of a religious and aesthetic temperament that the population finds its religious leaders, and that such minds are, in different races and regions, the authors of definitely monotheistic systems of thought. This seems applicable to the Delawares, for it is the visionaries who hold the preeminence of leadership in the ceremonies and who are at the same time the leaders of thought. They constitute, indeed, an eclectic priestly group in the tribe, though in ordinary life they are but laymen.

As we have it, the worship of the Supreme Deity and the lesser deities in Delaware offers a noteworthy correspondence to holy adoration in the Roman Church—to latry and dulia. Were it not for the fact that the Delawares were never under the ministrations of Roman Catholic evangelists it might seem that the Indians attempted an interpretation of the forms of Catholicism in their own terms, compromising with Christianity by refusing conversion and baptism but assimilating part of the doctrine.

In regard to this Zeisberger writes, "They believe and have from time immemorial believed that there is an Almighty Being who has created heaven and earth and man and all things else."[2] Heckewelder offers practically the same testimony, while earlier and later authors repeat what we also find in our text, a summary of evidence sufficient to establish the fact for Delaware belief that a Supreme Creative power with indications of anthropopathetic qualities, overtops the pantheism.[3] Heckewelder says, "It is a part of their religious belief, that there are inferior Mannittos, to whom the great and good Being has given the rule and command over the elements; that being so great, he like their chiefs, must have his attendants to execute his supreme behests:[4] these subordinate spirits (something in their nature between God and man) see and report what is doing upon earth; they look down particularly upon the Indians, to see whether they are in need of assistance, and are ready at their call to assist and protect them against danger."[5]

[1] Paul Radin, *Monotheism Among Primitive Peoples*, Lond. (1924) (Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, v. 7).

[2] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 128.

[3] The entire range of the Delaware religious phenomena, from secondary sources, has been reviewed and discussed amply by P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Münster, 1929, II Teil, 408-448). Father Schmidt favors the idea of the aboriginal grasp of the Supreme Being concept among the Delawares.

[4] The term eka'lasme denotes the proportion of supernatural strength possessed by the man-i'tuwak, given them by the Great Spirit.

[5] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 212.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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787 different cases as remembered by the informant seems at present more to the point than to attempt rationalistic discussion.

792 Those who have acquired visions and who perform the act of reciting and leading dances are the spiritual leaders of the tribe. They are known, with an air of distinction, as wehendji·kane'it', a designation that I am scarcely capable of literally translating into English, but which is explained to mean, according to Wi·tapano'xwe, the act of dancing in a line close to one another in a formation like segments of a vertebra.

In the text we are given the recitation of several of those who had visions, whose sermons, as they might be called, were more distinctly remembered by the narrator from his having heard them on various occasions. Most noteworthy, however, is his own recitation, the time and circumstances of which are given in the translation with such notes as seemed needed. Other versions of spiritual visitations not recorded in text but of sufficient merit to be made available for students of Algonkian psycho-social phenomena have been included in a section of the appendix (note I).

787 796 In the act of reciting the vision within the Big House the performer (e'lhik·a'·i·t') carries the tortoise rattle, called the "leading rattle." At his side dances the "follower," whose function is to repeat the leader's phrases and answer the leader's rattle with a shaking of his own rattle, called the "follower's rattle." This individual bears the formal designation we·te'·gas·i·t' "follower."

Now is manifestly the time to bring in some explanation of the manner in which the visionary proceeds to declaim his revelation and to intone the chant which he has composed relative to the appearance of the man·i'·t·u and the effect it produced upon his feelings when it appeared to him. This is essential to the understanding of the ceremony. Reference to the accompanying sketch of the floor plan of the Big House (fig. 12) will be necessary.

The reciter alternately recites his vision and dances. While reciting, now shaking the rattle by a horizontal motion of the forearm, he stands in one place (A) while the dancers who have taken their places in the line behind him pause likewise. At the end of the stanza he bends his head, shakes the rattle vertically and dances down the line of the beaten path, or the White Path with a shuffling step, while the drummers repeat the same stanza that he has just declaimed as accurately as they can. So by alternating pauses and advances the reciter and leader covers the circuit of the dancing path within the Big House until, having led his followers once around, he arrives at a point near where he had begun his act. Here (at G) he leaves the oval course heading toward the center post. At a point about half way to the center (H) he pauses again for one of the stanza recitations then dances to the image facing the western door, recites another